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ABSTRACT

American Indian Education has been built upon the premise that the Indian had a great deal to learn from the white man and that the white man represented the highest level of achievement that mankind had reached in the evolutionary process. Education is supposed to teach the Indian respect for law and order while he watches the law being violated before his eyes. The Indian is taught to revere knowledge while he watches incompetents achieve the most startling success. He is taught to expect an equal opportunity while he knows that he will be denied that opportunity because of his race. If Indian education is to succeed in the tribal setting, the communities must become, as they were in the past, the producers of education. The way to initiate this change is to work on the content of education and not on the techniques and procedures of education. The study of tribal customs must be initiated, and they must be taught in school on an equal basis with other academic subjects. Indians must have basic courses in reading, writing, and arithmetic to serve as tools for the real educational experience of learning the traditions, customs, and beliefs of the tribal community. That communities produce educational experiences, educational training does not produce communities is a basic thesis to which the community colleges are making a significant contribution by providing centers for an ongoing cultural life. (FF)

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HOW DOES A NATIVE AMERICAN DEAL WITH SOCIETY ?

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HOW DOES A NATIVE AMERICAN DEAL WITH SOCIETY ?

One of the assumptions of the American educational system is that it prepares individuals to live in society. The theory of education appears to be that if every individual receives an adequate preparation in the basic facts of western man's existence he or she can thereafter function as a useful and law-abiding citizen of the nation. The belief in education as the basis for a democracy has been a favorite thesis throughout the centuries of American existence and the free public school has been a tangible demonstration of this belief.

As one looks around American society today, however, the old belief in the saving virtue of education is badly shaken. The smartest and best educated men are busy stealing from each other. The federal government is for sale to the highest bidder. And the corporate mind with its carrot stick of profit swinging gayly before it wanders down the road of social and ecological destruction watching its television commercials convince it that all is well. The informed citizenry, the beneficiaries of the free public education, remain locked in a profound ignorance and could care less. Even the language has become so corrupted as to be meaningless. No public official tells lies anymore, he simply has a credibility gap. People are not murdered, they are wasted, or in the case of the CIA, terminated under extreme circumstances.

In such a society it goes without saying that the best learned lessons are not those of the classroom but those of the political caucus. Unless one can find salvation in the political machinations of his group he can hardly find salvation at all. As a result we have not only the manipulations of corporations and political parties but the recent power movements in the minority groups would indicate that

every facet of American social existence is now determined by power which is exercised with contempt toward anyone who questions its use.

Such a state of affairs should not be unexpected. The very basis of American educational theory lacks moral and ethical content. It does not speak of the relationships between people and between groups of people. It merely provides sufficient tools for individuals to use to climb the ladder of social, economic, academic, military, and intellectual pyramids without regard to the means used to achieve the ends desired by the individual. Little can be said about the way things ought to be. Social sciences can simply describe the manner in which they appear to operate given the conditions under which they arise.

In this whirlpool of disorder Indian education is supposed to orient Indian children to the mysteries of the world of the white man. It is supposed to teach him respect for law and order while he watches the law being blatantly violated before his eyes. He is taught to revere knowledge while he watches incompetents achieve the most startling success. He is taught to expect an equal opportunity while heknows that he will be denied that opportunity because of his race. And the major task of Indian education, if we listen to the multitude of people now engaged in its mysteries, is to reduce the drop-out rate which translates, keep them in school longer and feed them more lies.

Indian education has been built upon the premise that the Indian had a great deal to learn from the white man and that the white man represented the highest level of achievement that mankind had reached in the evolutionary process. The white man's religion was the best, his economics were superior to any that had been discovered, his sense of justice was the keenest, his knowledge of history the greatest. The Indian's task was to consume the little bits and pieces of the white man's world in the expectation that some day he would become

as smart as the white man. The totality of the white man's knowledge was supposed to be the unfolding of the wisdom of the ages that had been painfully accumulated by the series of brilliant men that preceded him.

In the old treaty-signing days many Indians came to feel that perhaps this superior knowledge gave the white man his right to do what he did. Bows and arrows were useless against guns. Ponies could not outrun trains. Iron kettles were superior to earthen pots and hides. So the education provisions were written into the treaties and from tribe to tribe the people began to slowly change their ways to conform to the white man's way of doing things. The expectation that one day the fuzzy picture would clear and the Indian would stand as equal to the white man grew over the generations. Today when we are asked what our problems are, we continue to reflect this ancient belief. "Give us more education," we cry, "and we can become self-sufficient".

But there is a real question that we have failed to examine when we talk about education as one of the answers to our problems. What is education? What is it that we must learn if we are to adjust to the type of society in which we find ourselves? To answer this question we must probe back into the beginnings of the western mind and discover, if possible, the basis for advocating the free public education. I believe that we can find at least part of our answer in the influence of the Christian religion on the western mind. That religion has taught the westerners how to think about society, the world, and the individual person and it has given the western societies the confidence in themselves fo that they either refuse to examine their premises or they see no need to go into what they would consider fundamental truths of the nature of the world.

The western mind is dependent upon two types of thought, Greek and Hebrew, which have intertwined together to form the Christian scheme of things as it has been brought to this country. Greek philosophy traditionally emphasized the pursuit of knowledge by the individual who received a divine call to seek knowledge. Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle all made efforts to elaborate a basic theory of the world in which the concentration of the individual was on revealing the true nature of the world - the search for ultimate reality. Western science has inherited the Greek tendency to classify and categorize the facts of existence into systematic fields of knowledge. Behind this tendency is the idea that by knowing all of the facts of existence an individual can achieve the wisdom necessary to understand himself and his society. When the Platonic philosophy was put into effect in Syracuse it turned out to be a disaster.

The other aspect of western thought is the Christian emphasis on individual salvation. The message of the early Christian church and the message of many right wing Christians today is that the individual can be saved from the evils of the world by uncritical acceptance of the facts of the Christian religion. By affirming belief in the data compiled about Jesus of Nazareth a Christian is "saved" from whatever demons inherit and inhabit the earth. Not only in this philosophy completely divorced from the realities of the world, it does not take into account the inter-workings of groups of men as they form the small communities in which they live. Inherent in the Christian religion is the idea that if every individual behaves according to the best of his ability the conglomerate of individuals who form a society at any one time will act morally and ethically towards one another and towards the other societies with which they have contact.

A great deal of the thinking of present day educators still depends upon the Greek-Christian assumptions concerning the nature of man and the world he lives in. A great deal of the academic pursuit in American universities does not concern the problem of an individual acting in a society as it does simply measuring the events of that society. The assumption that an individual, given sufficient data concerning the world, and having a purity of heart towards the subject matter he is asked to consume, will become a useful member of society remains the basic thesis behind public education.

The western mind has never questioned the fact that human beings appear to act differently in groups than they do when acting as solitary individuals. Nor has it ever found that solitary individual who acts in the manner which western thinking projects. Man is also found in groups of people and to find a solitary individual one would have to travel to the far corners of the earth and discover a hermit, one who had given up all relationships with the outside world. Such a person would naturally have few ethical or moral dilemmas since such questions arise in conjunction with the normal contact with people.

When this attitude toward knowledge is made the chief factor in determining the nature of education we have a phenomenon in which the facts of the world are taught without regard to the relationships which they share one with another. Thus we learn about the nature of politics, the nature of economics, the nature of sociology, and the nature of anthropology, yet we are not told and are incapable of learning whether or not these fields have any relationship with each other. Western education does not concern itself with relationships, only with facts. It assumes, with no basis for doing so, that the relationship

will work themselves out in some kind of divine pre-established harmony. The present state of American society testifies to the fact that such a pre-established harmony does not and cannot exist whenever a significant number of individuals are involved.

The assumption that people become good and useful citizens or that they are capable of earning a living or making a contribution to the collection of knowledge by consuming a sufficient number of facts is not only ill-founded, it precludes any search for the real maning of things. At best it produces a short term type of logic which we have seen in Catch-22, in the rhetoric of the Viet Nam war, and in the various assumptions that are made daily in society. We feel that President Nixon did not know about Watergate because we have been taught that Presidents do act that way. And that is the only basis for our belief - we have been taught certain propositions to be true and we have little critical apparatus to refute our beliefs.

The struggles of the sixties over new concepts of social justice have been largely waged on the basis of the old logics which were part and parcel of the western educational system. Integration, for example, meant that everyone had to be the same but the failure to define what that same was meant the eventual downfall of the theory of integration. And it was people within the black community who, upon the passage of the Civil Rights legislation to establish equality, awoke to find themselves still black, still bound to the ghettos, and still discriminated against. The assumption with the Civil Rights movement was that by forcing people to respect the Civil Rights laws equality could be achieved. It was a simple matter to simply by-pass those laws and establish new relationships of racism more sophisticated than before which returned many of the same behavioral patterns to the way that the white majority wished them to be.

American society has been based upon the strong and mystical belief in the salvation of the individual citizen. And while there were few people this belief had some validity. When the mid-western cities were small cities of less than 50,000 it was possible to grade the opportunities and efforts for self-government according to the peculiarities of the city. Now they are approaching a half million or more and they have inherited all those problems which were formerly considered to be mental diseases of the eastern establishment. The rugged individualism of the old America has been replaced with the large corporate conglomerate. The old family grocery store, gas station, farm, or business has fallen victim to the intrusions of the corporation. The distribution system of the nation has made it impossible for a single business or family to survive as a unit. The communications media has acted to homogenize us to certain beliefs and ways of thinking which create in us a "herd" instinct for survival far different than that in which we are taught to believe.

Perhaps the chief proof of the value of the old individualism was the ability of the system to point out the individuals which it had produced as an indication of its truth. As we have seen, those that the system has produced in recent years are hardly fit to be applauded if we have any sense of ethics or morals left. The old ability to point at successful individuals was based upon an awareness of the past and the perpetuation of a tradition of "what made America great". But people are having an increasingly difficult time finding American greatness today. Instead the cynicism and despair on every side, in the liberal community as well as the conservative community, would indicate that the ideal conception of American history as the unbeatable march of progress has been large debunked.

The justification for the displacment of the American Indian, as

developed in American history courses went right along with the old belief in progress and rugged individualism. Indians had to be replaced, the belief went, because it was necessary to create the great society of which we are the beneficiaries. But today with an increasing awareness of poverty, racism, ecological disaster, and political corruption, it is no longer possible to justify any actions taken by the American social or political system. And it is not possible to justify them to even those Americans who still believe the old myths.

History, for the American society, has vanished. It has been replaced with a timeless and mindless wandering. People are looking to the educational system to retrieve them from the sense of disaster which they feel and the educational system tightens its belt and starts to gather even more data on the state of society in effect increasing the sense of hopelessness and lost which people feel. Progress has reversed itself and even the advertisements tell us that the oil companies and auto manufacturers are trying to reverse their destructive impact on American life. By lessening the amount of destruction on our lives these corporations proclaim that they are making progress. We can thus measure progress by measuring how little damage we continue to do, not how many creative things are accomplished.

Within this general feeling of social confusion a number of ideas have been advanced which give hope to those keen enough to perceive them. The trend in recent court decisions has been to emphasize the interest of society over and against the interests of the private corporation or the state in developing its plans. Civil Rights cases are more frequently framed in terms of class actions rather than in seeking redress for individuals. Justice William O. Douglas' dissent in the case of Sierra Club. v. Morton even raises the question of whether a nature feature such as a canyon can have legal standing to

protect itself against exploitation from developers. These ideas are relatively new and the concern of the legal processes and the people who work in them to give groups of people and even natural landmarks a status in the eyes of the law would indicate that a whole new conception of the world is being forced into being whether the old beliefs wish it or not.

What we are seeing in the field of law with the development of public interest law firms, class actions, and ecological suits is the shift in emphasis on the absolute rights of the individual and his use of the property he owns to an emphasis on the values and concerns of groups of people. Perhaps no better example can be made than the recent case involving the education of the Amish children in Wisconsin. In the case Yoder v. State which was decided in the Supreme Court in 1971, the state of Wisconsin argued that it was the best custodian of the morals and values of society and that the Amish had to bow to thw wishes, wisdom, and policies of the state board of education and allow their children to be educated in the public schools.

The Supreme Court pointed out, to the great embarrassment of the state of Wisconsin, that the traditions. customs, and beliefs of the Amish, when consistently followed produced a society in which broken marriages, juvenile delinquency, poverty and crime were virtually unknown. When the Amish record was balanced against that of Wisconsin it became apparent that the values of the Amish were far superior to those of the state of Wisconsin. This important case set the precedent that where a group has peculiar beliefs, traditions and customs and it can show beyond a doubt that its way of life is superior to that of the surrounding society, and that it consistently practices its customs with beneficial results, the state cannot use its powers over individuals to force members of that community to accept its institutions

The parallel here with the tribal communities is obvious. If we could show that our customs, traditions, and beliefs were a vital part of our community life and had the effect of reducing or eliminating the statistics of poverty and failure which presently characterize them we could remove ourselves from the effect of the society around us. Perhaps the chief difference between Indian communities and the Amish is that for a century we have been denied the right to practice our customs and traditions. We have not kept them alive and have not used them to hold our communities together. They do not have much place in our lives today and are too often regarded as relics of the past. Thus we are trapped into being the recipients of the American educational system because we have failed or been denied the right to live according to our own dictates.

Another development in the legal field of great importance is the emerging sense of justice which seeks to create the idea of compensation for crimes rather than retribution. The traditional sense of justice in the western tradition is the Old Testament idea of an "eye for an eye". This concept is just short of savagery yet it has been the favorite concept of Protestant America which has had a major influence in the interpretation of law and the development of penalties for criminal law. Perhaps as important and intimately related to the penalty nature of criminal law is the recent abolishment of the death penalty. We see the spectacle of the conservatives trying desperately to re-instate the death penalty in spite of the overwhelming testimony of experts that it does not deter murder. The conservatives are willing that a few innocent people be killed so long as they can kill those they are certain are guilty of murder. Such an attitude is even pre-Old Testament since even God was willing to spare Sodom and Gomorrah for the presence

of ten righteous men.

As capital punishment has fallen, even if only temporarily, so compensation for the victim of crimes is becoming an important aspect of criminal law. Criminal law had developed as a means of the state protecting the property of individual citizens. There was no attempt to force compensation to the victims of a crime by the state. A victim could sue in civil court if he had the means. But in general the tendency was to use the laws and institutions of the state to punish the perpetrator of the crime while leaving the victim uncompensated. Today the idea of compensation for the victim has been discussed in Congress and in several states and numerous proposals have been introduced to make compensation a chief part of the criminal law on both the state and federal levels.

These ideas are not, as we have seen, a part of the western tradition of law. The idea of spreading the loss of a crime over the members of a society is not a western idea where every man is responsible for his crimes and only for his crimes. Western nations had no idea of the corporate nature of society and hence to develop a criminal law in which the corporate nature of guilt and responsibility was recognized was far beyond the ability of western men to comprehend. These ideas are basically derived from the tribal conceptions of society. In a great many tribes retribution for murder was the last step in the process of settling the criminal nature of murder. More often than not the family of the murdered person would adopt the murderer and the murderer had to become a member of the family to replace the person he had killed. The idea behind this tradition was that society had suffered enough by the loss of one of its members. Killing in vengeance would only compound the crime against the society over and above the crime against the family or the victim.

Compensation for lesser crimes was a way of life in nearly every Indian tribe. It did not make sense to Indians to jail a person for infringment of one of the tribe's customs. It was sufficient punishment for the crime to be known and for the tribe, family, clan, or band to know about the crime. The duty under the laws of many tribes was for the relatives of the crininal to compensate the family of the victim or the victim for the rash act of the criminal. It would be even more accurate to speak of transgressor since the very conception of the criminal is foreign to the customs of most tribes.

At least in the field of law when we speak of the differences between Indian customs and the laws of the white man we are speaking of two different systems of thought and what we are seeing at the present time is the breakdown of all the concepts which the white man has and the gradual substitution of the old Indian concepts in their place. The old theory of punishment and individual rights is being replaced by the concern for and the acknowledgment of the whole social order. In this field the relationships between the parts of the society are becoming more important than the respective entities which serve to compose that society. We see a shift from factual law to relationship law and the emphasis is becoming more of a concern for the totality of society and not for its individual parts. The tribal customs which were debunked as primitive are going to be seen as more sophisticated than anyone imagined and the field of law will in the future be Indianized rather than civilized becuuse the conception of civilization has become to primitive for modern society.

In the field of economics a major breakthrough is being discussed. It is the guaranteed annual income. The idea has had support from both conservatives and liberals although they differ in both ideology and

in the manner in which they intend to carry the program out. In the last election the intemperate remarks of Hubert Humphrey and George McGovern in the California primary sidetracked the idea of the guaranteed annual income when Humphrey began to make outrageous claims that the McGovern idea would bankrupt the nation. Yet the idea has substantial merit when one considers that at every level of existence there are subsidies made available to parts of the society by government programs. Corporations get tax breaks, small companies get special tax rates, individuals get a variety of subsidies from guaranteed banking under the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation to the Federal Housing Authority which supports their thirty year mortgages. Postage is subsidized, food is subsidized, airlines are subsidized. Everyone is subsidized.

It remains but a step forward at some future date when the nature of subsidy is finally accepted by both liberals and conservatives and the guaranteed annual income is made a part of the general social program of the federal government. At that point we will have gotten far away from the old conservative and Christian idea that God looks out for those that help themselves. This theory incorporated itself into the western viewpoint during the days of the post-Reformation period when affluence was considered a divine sign that the individual was one of the elect. The argument went that God having chosen a certain number of people from before the beginning of the world to be saved, would naturally give those people during their time on earth the best possible conditions, meaning wealth, and that by following the Christians virtues of hard work, singleminded purpose in life, and piety, the elect would naturally prosper.

During the arguments over the theory of evolution the scientific establishment transformed that idea into the jungle law of the survival of the fittest. The presence of inherited wealth has never been considered

by the conservative as cheating the basic premise of both the salvation of the chosen and the survival of the fittest. Yet this dualistic theory of individualism saw itself justified only in those that survived. It never questioned what happened to those that did not "make it".

When the guaranteed annual income eventually becomea a reality it will probably take at least one form of intellectual argument. It will be said that a human being has the right not only to civil eixstence under the laws of the state but to the irreducible satisfaction of food and shelter. And it will be considered a major breakthrough for western man to have advanced to this degree of sophistication. The problem is that the idea if neither new nor is it derivative from the traditions and theories of western educational institutions. Paul Radin, noted anthrolpogist, and it is rare that one can depend upon the findings of an anthropologist, finds that the right to food ans shelter was the **basic fact of Indian tribal existence.** It was the level beyond which a human being could not be reduced in any Indian tribe.

Rather than learning about the benefits of western capitalism in the educatuonal process, one would do better to learn about the old Indian customs and traditions and spend time meditating on the means by which such ideas can be transformed into ppolitical and economic reality in contemporary America. Again when we reach the plateau of the guaranteed annual income we have reached the conception of society has having a few basic relationships which must be given to all members. We no longer have an individualism which blesses the fortunate or corrupt few while damning the majority of people. We have passed from the concentration on the facts of individual existence to the relationships between all members of a society. We have, in effect, recognized again the corporate or group nature of social existence.

Several years ago there was a terrible concern about the cological disasters being visited upon the planet. The college students did their

usual insane type of protest and buried new cars with great symbolic ceremonies, donated a week and a year to picking up the beer bottles from the roads where they had deposited them the night before, and vowed never again to cut down a redwood tree. The oil companies trotted out over-aged and paunchy astronauts who solemnly testified to us on television that their oil company had spent a decade developing a new gas additive which prevented air pollution. The Interior Department fired Smoky the Bear whose only concern was preventing forest fires and got a new mascot, , who was the archetype ecologist with an image just short of St. Francis of Assisi.

The result of this outpouring of faith in the American future of ecological concern was the estbalishment, for a time, of several ecological journals and the prevention of the SST for a short time. Rumors are prevalent that President Nixon intends to get his SST yet even though Britain and France have nearly gone bankrupt with theirs. Yet as superficial as the ecological movement has been there have been some permanent gains made. The number of law suits presently beging taken by the public interest ecological and conservation organizations has grown and the increasing problems have become more serious so that the problem, if not solved, can no donger be ignored.

The ecological movement has been the movement in contemporary America that has most blatantly copied the American Indian. A great deal of the sympathy for Indians derives from an acknowledgment by whites that Indians did not destroy the balance of nature and that the tribal values of living in harmony with the environment were much more advanced and meaningful than were the western [illegible] values of continual rearrangement of natural features on behalf of man's industrial needs. We need not discuss the ecological movement other than to say that it also approaches but does not yet equal the tribal values of

maintaining a meaningful relationship between a society and a particular land. The current concern for ecology does not yet recognize the spirit of the place, the nature of the earth, or the relationship with the other life forms that was a standard belief of most tribes. It is still at the tourist stage of development. Yet there is hope even for the white men, that they will someday recognize that certain places are holy places, that a society must have a sacred ground where it sinks its roots, and that even the smallest animals and life forms have a right to exist for themselves, that even they can teach us things we do not know.

Another contemporary movement of note has been the Women's Liberation movement. The Christian religion is based upon a degradation of women beginning at the Garden of Eden story and continuing through the New Testament days and the doctrines of the early Christian church. The result of this religious belief was to make women second class citizens during the development of European political institutions. Women were regarded not only as inferior to men but as having no sense of understanding of political and economic forms of social existence. In many states women still cannot sign a valid contract, cannot own property without their husbands consent, and receive less pay for the same job performance.

Women's Liberation is a current effort to develop a place for women in American society. But it would appear from many of the spokeswomen for the movement that in many ways it seeks to pretend that no distinctions exist between men and women. The roles of both men and women are thus becoming increasingly confused and even the inadequate western traditions involving women are fast vanishing. Many of the tribes had special places for women in the society. In the past and today women played an important place in the political structure of the tribe. The Iroquois clan mothers chose the chiefs of the tribe

and exercised a great deal of influence over the decisions made by the chiefs. In most tribes the property of the home belonged to the woman and the children were regarded as her special responsibilities. Hardly a tribe can be found where the role of women was not revered and where a special place was not found for them. In the women's liberation movement of today we find a helpless American society trying vainly to find a place for women and attempting, as in the case of Civil Rights, to pretend that fundamental differences do not exist.

In spite of the pretense at civilizatuon American society has been unable to reconcile itself with its children. The revolts of the sixties were a fundamental protest by the young people against the hypocrisy of their elders and juvenile delinquency has been a continuing problem that has grown in violence and complexity. One of the efforts to reduce juvenile delinquency has been the Big Brother Program. In this program an adult unrelated to the troubled boy has been appointed to talk and work with him. It is felt that children without fathers or with problems do better by relating to an adult who is not directing involved with daily family problems.

The Big Brother program has been one of the informal means, that is, the means used outside the formal institutions, to solve the problem of juvenile delinquency. It has generally meant that American society has had to go beyond the confines of the family to find a means of introducing young people into the customs and responsibilities of adult citizenship. This concept is, of course, old hat for the people from Indian tribes. Many tribes had a kinship system whereby the training and counseling of the young of both sexes was done by a more distant family member than the father or mother. Uncles on the father's side would train the boys and sisters on the mother's side

would work with the girls. At least part of the feeling behind the kinship relationships was the effort to keep the parents and the children away from a disciplinarian relationship which might injure the basic family unit.

As a means of maintaining a family and organizing the various relationships which a society must have to survive, the old tribal customs appear to be far advanced when compared with the institutions of contemporary America. The kinship system worked in such a way that no orphans existed and the need for institutional care or commitment of troubled young people did not exist because no relationships of an alienated nature were allowed to exist. The whole fabric of the tribe depended upon a complex series of relationships which bound everyone to a great many relatives who had reciprocal duties toward each other. As the social problems in American society continue to increase and intensify programs such as the Big Brothers will be expanded and perhaps eventually made a regular part of the social institutions.

There are a number of other developments today that portend a radical change in social thinking in America. Even the conservative desire to return the forms of government decision-making to the local communities appears to be a form of political fragmentation reminsicent of the old tribal band structures rather than an accelerated effort to make the political structures revelant to the mass of citizens. On the whole one can easily find an abandonment of the western and Christian ideology of society and a shifting of emphasis to social forms that are parallel and sometime nearly identical to the customs, traditions, and beliefs of many of the old tribal structures. At this point, then, we must examine the attitudes of those programs and people working in the field of Indian education to determine at what point in the process

Indian education actually relates to the world as we know it and as we are seeing it adapt to changing social realities.

At best Indian education is an ill-conceived version of the worst of the Protestant theological generalities which are cherished by the conservative elements in America. Nearly every program available has a basis of motivation as an element. People think that there must be some way to get an Indian child interested in education and substantial research funds are available to determine how you "motivate" a child. Sam Deloria has pointed out that motivation is trying to find a way to make someone do something you want him to do, not a process of getting someone interested in doing what he wants to do. But the end product of school work is too often mere recitation of learned facts which have been arranged in a manner pleasing to the teacher. Thus motivation is demonic at best and a catastrophe induced by professional ignorance at worst.

But the pattern of education thrust upon Indian children, the motivation-recitation syndrome, is good Protestant theology. One is frightened to death by tales of a burning hell and thus motivated. Then one is taught the basic facts of the salvation story and is asked to believe that they actually happened some time and some place long ago. Whether the facts of educational content can be attached to a motivation mechanism or not has probably not entered the mind of the teacher or the professional educator. He is chiefly concerned with running a smoothe operation, not with the development of any significant complex of relationships which would orient the student toward the world he will face. If Indian education can be purged of this relic of the Reformation it would be one of the significant events of our generation. Motivation is at best high camp confidence games played on children and has no

part in a meaningful educational process.

Another facet of Indian education is the assumption which has been traditionally held by educators that it must be compensatory. The initial difficulty with the English which most Indian children experience is interpreted as indicating a fundamental mental defect which must be obercome with compensatory programs. Even the current fascination with bi-lingual programs does not do justice to the native languages. It is concerned primarily with finding a new way to teach English not a way to expand and develop either thought processes or native languages. Classifying Indian children as needing compensatory educational programs is a forfeit of the cultural values of the Indian people in favor of an ill-defined and unrelated Anglo cultural context which at best is breaking apart because of its interla inconsistencies.

The whole idea of compensatory programs must be shifted in emphasis. The programs must come full circle and be viewed as having an integirty in themselves as vehicles of Indian cultural expressien and survival. The idea of compensation involves, at its deepest level, the racial connotation that only those of white heritage are capable of civlized behavior. It further indoctrinates children into ethno-centric beliefs in which English appears as the natural language with all other languages appearing as divergent and lesser tongues. It may come as a surprise to many Americans but a majority of the world does not speak English. And probably a majority of the educated people in the world do not even speak it. It represents at best a Protestant conceptualizatio of salvation, the idea that the lesser races of men cannot enter heaven or civilized existence until they speak the mother tongue and until they adapt themselves to the ways of God's people.

One of the less frequently articulated assumptions we find in

Indian education is that education will give the individual Indian the opportunity enjoyed by other Americans to compete in the economic realm. Education has been looked upon as a sure key to employemnt in the fields of lucrative endeavor. In a fundamental manner it presently is that key since the majority of good job opportunities which presently exist have qualifications which can only be satisfied by educational achievements as measured in degrees and certificates.

But the employment opportunities are gradually shrinking as the concern of society changes from social problems to economic ventures of very complex magnitude. Already some types of jobs are far beyond the possibility of the vast majority of Indian people for they involve not only education but informal political or family alliances which Indian people, simply because they are Indian people, lack. Jobs in the stock market, in the upper echelons of the energy industry, in the political parties, and in corporate firms with a strong family tradition are already beyond the reach of all but the most unusual Indian people.

Thus to advocate education as the key to opening employment opportunities is in a certain sense usless. By the same token some notice must be taken of the series of jobs that are specifically designed for Indians, jobs which cannot or should not be filled by non-Indians. Many of these are in government and many more are going to be opening up in tribal programs and developments on or near reservations. The interpretation of education must therefore be related not to a vocation in general terms but a vocation in specific tribal or Indian terms. We do not need accountants or doctors in a general sense but in a specific community or problematic sense.

The old Protestant economic theory worked with the unique hard-working and pious individual who had the world at his feet and had only

to knock and all doors would be opened to him. Equality of opportunity in the economic field was an American truism which was rarely questioned. Today it is not only under question but in view of our present examples of public ethics and morality, it has become the latest of the big American lies to be exposed. Even the toughest of individuals apparently needs plenty of unmarked bills to ensure his success on the climb upwards.

Education for life employment has thus been taken from its basis as an individual endeavor and made into a community need with some new community relationships. It has or is being Indianized. The only problem is that Indian educators have not advanced in their thinking about the goals of education and the generalized and obsolete picture is still being presented to Indian children. Education must now be interpreted in a total community sense and a sense of community responsibility must be developed in educational programs that is at least as strong as the technical skills which are given in specific job areas.

The final unchallenged assumption concerning Indian education is one quite frequently made by policy-makers at the state and federal level. It involves such a complete misunderstanding of culture as to display the lack of education and awareness on the part of those who hold it so appauling as to be ridiculous. Indians receivec citizenship in 1924 and for at least the majority of this century have been relatively quite in their protests. The majority of people in this country have come to believe that Indians are as natural a part of this nation as are the Pilgrims - and about as relevant. So the majority of people will tell you that Indians are just as good as everyone else and that we should have the same opportunities as everyone else. So far so good. The problem is that this sense of equality is allowed to cover over the vast gulf

that exists between the cultural values of the respective tribes and the rest of America. There is no cultural tradition which binds Indians to the rest of America outside of the John Wayne movies and the popular books on the wars of the Plains Indians. The religious traditions are greatly divergent. Cultural attitudes toward history, toward language, toward social forms of activity, and towards many other things are at almost polar opposites.

It is within the experience of every one of us here that there are so many ways in which Indian behaviors based upon cultural beliefs and practices differ from those of the rest of society. I will give but one example of this gulf allowing you to speculate on others of your experience. In many tribes when a person wishes to indicate disapproval one simply remains silent. It is not good manners to talk and disagree with the person proposing the course of action with which one disagrees. The boycott or disapproval by withdrawal is used quite frequently on the inter-tribal level to indicate disagreement. Anglo tradition dictates a far different kind of behavior. To indicate disapproval in white society the practice is to "speak now or forever after hold your peace". Disapproval is vocal and shattering.

Many tribal elections are held on important policies and proposals and they have a dual nature. Traditional Indians regard them as devices of the white man and refuse to participate in them. Their absence is not interpreted as an Indian form of protest. It is given an Anglo interpretation and when no dissenting voices are heard Anglos assume that the proposed course of action has the approval of the tribe. Often the exact opposite is true. To assume, therefore, in Indian education that the learned reactions of the teaching methods will indicate a constant attitude by the students of their involvement with the material is at

least foolhardy and sometimes prevents any activity from occurring at all.

One cannot rid education of the Protestant ideologies without also purging the content of material from all of the western overtones. In order to develop an adequate educational program for Indian children we must change not only the techniques of teaching but must also begin to develop a new concept of history in which the immediate community experiences of the respective tribes are related to world history as a whole and not to certain segments of American history. Even the best current tribal histories are derived from the recorded encounters of the tribe and the white man. Little credence is given to tribal myth and folklore and it is generally greeted as primitive poetry if it is recognized at all. A comparison of tribal folklore with the Garden of Eden story places the respective tribal stories at least on a par with the western mythologies.

Native American history should be the coming new field of intellectual pursuit in our communities. It should be practiced in the academic setting, in our organizational lives, and in the reservation and urban communities. For the past century we have been intellectually overwhelmed by the prospect of the asolute might of white society. We have not been able to conceive the world as it might be in the post-western historical period and the folklore and idealized history of the Pilgrim fathers and their hectic descendents has been made to appear as the inevitable result of the strivings of mankind.

Today we know better. American society is in one phase of collapse. It will probably not collapse altogether in the immediate future. But it will continue to make radical changes if only to survive and for the most part these changes are in the direction of a type of society that will be very compatible with the old tribal customs and traditions.

Instead of continuing to accept uncritically the contentions of the Anglo historian we should place a major emphasis on retrieving our own tribal histories, reclaim our immediate past and understand the changes that have taken place in our communities in this century, and find an interpretation of these experiences that can orient us today and enable us to project a firmer basis for community existence in the future.

It may appear singularly difficult for some of our communities to develop a tribal history that varies from the standard history we have been taught in school. The usual method of developing a historical explanation is to relate it to interpretations of events that are already known or popularized. Thus a tribal history may suffer the handicap of appearing to be simply an alternative version of the American hsitory story. Just as we have never had an individual in perfect isolation so we have never had tribes in perfect isolation. Every one of our tribes has had contact with its neighbors on its borders and their story, the complex story of how all of the tribes have related to one another, can possibly form the basis for new tribal histories.

A good example of this can be made if one considers a history of the Sioux from the viewpoint of the relationships between the Sioux and Chippewa or the Sioux and Crow, or even the Sioux and Pawnee, rather than simply the Sioux and the invading white men. The white man of course comes into the story and dominates much of the discussion of the wars and land cessions. But the fact that the tribes have had continuing relationships with one another on the regional basis is a story that will buttress efforts to develop valid tribal histories.

A history is merely a selected collection of facts without the human dimension to give it flesh. Thus to develop a tribal history

making any effort to understand the changing values and customs is to fall into the trap of western historians who fail to recognize the changing attitudes of groups as determinative of the meaning of many events. They pretend that cultural attitudes remain constant while change takes on a good or bad connotation as technology and natural disasters force adaptation. We must devote considerable thought to the examination of where our tribes have been, how they have changed their patterns of social adjustment to conditions, and determine whether the values of the past can be translated into new patterns of action or whether they can remain in the forms in which we have tried to preserve them.

We have already seen the major movements in American society in which the premises of western social reality have been shifting away from their moorings toward a more tribalized understanding of life as a community with an identity of its own. The translation of customs and values must be deliberate and specific. We must advocate strict establishment of some practices which we find are beneficial and have the discipline to carry them out in our own lives and community actions. In order to make this type of re-ordering possible we must come to an acknowledgement of what our communities actually are, not what we wish they were or what we would like people to think they should be.

We are presently in danger of finding ourselves in great embarrassment. We tell our audiences at Indian Awareness weeks that Indians do not worship money while our tribal councils are leasing their sacred mountains for royalties, while our tribal politicians are seeking better and higher paying jobs, and while some of our reservation leaders are taking advantage of their people with favorable leases of tribal lands, appointments to special jobs and committees, and other favors.

Our activists chastize the white man for his destruction of nature and admonish people to respect the Sacred Earth Mother while they are throwing their empty beer cans along the road and many of our communities look like junk yards with their old cars and destroyed buildings. While we are poor there is no excuse for us being either destructive or dirty about the way we live.

A large gap has grown up between the reality of Indian life and the favorable pictures which the popular books on the Plains Indians invoke. People visiting reservations are justifiably puzzled at the apparent lack of concern they see in Indian communities for community life. We must find a way to institute more community acitivties so that the people do not find themselves victims of continued spiritual poverty, individualized like many white communities, and helpless before the massive movements of the modern world.

The whole education process must be recognized as being fundamentally different when one passes from white society to Indian society. If it is not presently recognized as distinct then we must make it so. Education in white society appears to be a creator of communities. It is oriented toward the production of income-producing skills and the housing, business, entertainment, and recreation sections of white communities reflect this fact. At persent one could draw a graph of the income levels of the various white communities according to the housing and shopping patterns and when these patterns are overlaid with the forces of law and order and the processes of government they are thought to be communities.

But in the tribal setting communities are the producers of education. At least they were in the past and we can make them so today. When communities produce education then the groupings of the community reflect the charisma, wisdom, or activities of the various parts of

the community and the respective activities can be viewed in relation to their importance to the community. In that way the sacredness of the community can be protected and developed eventually becoming the majority feature of the community.

The best way that we can initiate this change is to begin to work on the content of education and not on the techniques and procedures of education. We must initiate the study of tribal customs on a grand scale and they must be taught at school on an equal basis with any other academic subject. But they must not be confined to the school or classroom. They must be under constant discussion within the community itself and be subject to continual and disciplined use by the people. Perhaps the first feature of revival would be to begin comprehensive studies of the old clan and kinship patterns and establish social rules for the re-institution of some of the old patterns of kinship responsibility. There is no good reason why we cannot expect every Indian to accept the old social responsibilities for his extended family and why we cannot enforce social responsibilities for relatives on a deliberate and measurable scale of behavior.

Some customs, of course, cannot be immediately instituted. The old days of the past are gone and we must recognize that fact of our existence. That does not prevent us from establishing new customs. The give-aways can be re-designed to assist in placing a better financial floor under some of our poorer people and other Indian customs of re-distributing wealth can be modernized so that real economic progress is made by the community as a whole. There is no reason why the more affluent members of an Indian community could not create all kinds of programs from their own resources for the benefit of the poor and older people. All we need do is accept the responsibility for beginning new customs and have the intention and discipline for carrying them out.

We once lived in a world in which even the far horizons were insufficient to capture our spirits. The reservation experience has served to limit our vision to the boundaries which the government has marked out for us. We should reject such arbitrary limits and begin to visualize the reservation not as the limit of our horizon but as the center of our own universe. We must extend the network of our relationships from the reservations outwards and not continue the narrow vision of the past wher our concern is only with the events and problems of the immediate community. By lifting our vision the petty quarrels of our daily existence will be overcome by the view of our future and our communities will begin to emerge as sacred places of our community life, not as depositories of the dregs of Indian society.

Our final task must be to transform the focus of our communities from mere political subdivisions of reservation or state structures to centers of activity of an ongoing cultural life. The recent developments of the community colleges on reservations are a significant and giant step forward in this process and one could almost project a better future on the basis of having tried to develop these colleges. We must support and expand their activities as quickly as possible. They support the basic thesis of this paper, that communities produce educational experiences, educational training does not produce communities. It is this fact of human existence which, I believe, distinguishes Indian communities and people from the non-Indians.

We need not, in Indian education, concern ourselves with much of the subject matter that we have previously considered to be important. Instead we must have basic courses or reading, writing and arithmetic, which serve as tools for the real educational experience of learning the traditions, customs and beliefs of the tribal community. We have no use for the knowledge of the names of the Presidents of the United

States and the sequence in which they held office is pretty abstract to us. But we must substitute for them a listing of the great chiefs, headmen and leaders of our communities. We must know about their lives as accurately and intimately as we know about George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. And we must understand that we stand in that tradition and have a responsibility to carry it forward. If we can change our concept of education to include the specifically Indian things of life we have only to watch and wait and soon we shall be seeing that we are far ahead of the rest of society which has yet to claim the reality of life as a people who understand who they are and what they are about.